

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON INDIA.

No. VI.

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GRANTS-IN-AID TO MISSION-SCHOOLS.

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MINUTE BY FREDERICK J. HALLIDAY, ESQ.,

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL,

ON THE

EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH'S LETTER

OF APRIL 28<sup>TH</sup>, 1858,

WITH

SIR GEORGE CLERK'S MEMORANDUM.

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*(Reprinted from the "Report of Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1857-58." Calcutta.)*

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*Occasional Papers on India.*

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**No. VI.**  
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GRANTS-IN-AID TO MISSION SCHOOLS.

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No. 1826.

FROM A. R. YOUNG, Esq.,  
*Secretary to the Government of Bengal,*  
TO THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

*Fort William, the 29th November 1858.*

EDUCATION.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2451, dated the 2nd ultimo, forwarding a copy of the Notes drawn up by you on the letter from the Earl of Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, to the Honourable the East-India Company, dated the 28th April 1858, and the Memorandum by Sir George Clerk, annexed to that letter, on the subject of Education in India.

2. In reply, I am desired to state that the Lieutenant-Governor has perused your remarks with great interest and attention, but His Honour is not aware that any practical steps are now required to be taken regarding Lord Ellenborough's letter. A copy of a Minute containing the reflections which have occurred to His Honour on the subject is herewith forwarded for your information.

3. I am further directed to observe that the Lieutenant-Governor feels too deep an interest on the subject of Education in this country to be able to refrain from expressing his opinion when the system he has been largely concerned



in establishing is so gravely attacked. The Grant-in-aid system in particular commands his constant sympathy and attention. His Honour was the first to propose it to the Council of Education, together with a plan of grants to Missionary Schools, some time before the date of the Education Despatch, viz. in March or April 1854, and his Minute on the subject was afterwards submitted to the Government of India with Mr. Under-Secretary Pratt's letter, No. 525, of the 16th November 1854,\* and was certainly the earliest suggestion of the kind that ever was laid before that authority.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. R. YOUNG.

*Secretary to the Government of Bengal.*

## MINUTE.

I cannot but think that it was desirable for the Director of Public Instruction to notice, as early as possible, the letter of the Earl of Ellenborough and the Memorandum by Sir George Clerk on the subject of Education in India. The former is a paper of great weight, from the force and ability with which the subject is treated in it; and both documents derive importance from the names and authority of their authors. Their publication, also, on the motion of Lord Ellenborough in the House of Lords, is an evidence of the weight attached to them by His Lordship himself, and of his wish that they should be generally known and commented upon.

2. The Earl of Ellenborough's letter relates to the whole

\* See Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XXII.

of India, and I know not whether its statements be correct or no regarding the territories of Madras and Bombay, and other parts with which I have no immediate concern. As regards the territories under my jurisdiction, the statements and inferences, though coming from one whose knowledge of the subject is great, and whose opinion cannot be questioned without deference, do yet appear to me to require considerable correction.

3. The letter commences with an expression of disappointment at the failure of the system established in 1854, to produce "the expected good;" and a complaint that the expenditure for education had risen under the new system from about ten lacs in 1854-55, to twenty-one and a-half in 1856-57.

4. This complaint naturally suggests an inquiry into the purport of the "Instructions" of 1854, and the kind of "good" reasonably to be expected from them.

5. It will be borne in mind that the system of Public Instruction which prevailed up to 1854 had avowedly for its chief object the diffusion of the improved Arts, Science, Philosophy, and Literature of Europe—in short, of European knowledge. At the same time it encouraged the cultivation of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian—the Classical Languages of India—in special Institutions established for that purpose; and it insisted upon the study of the Vernaculars, together with English, in all Government Schools and Colleges. Moreover, it had begun to attempt the institution of merely Vernacular Schools for a lower class of pupils, in extension of a system of Vernacular Education set on foot with much approval by Mr. Thomason in the North-Western Provinces.

6. In all this, which has not been found fault with in the letter before me, the Despatch of 1854 made no change: On the contrary, it bestowed upon the objects and purposes of the system then in existence, the heartiest expressions of approbation, and declared an intention to adopt and sustain that system, and to give it ample encouragement and extension; especially as "a knowledge of English will always



be essential to those Natives of India who aspire to a high order of education.” \*

7. But the success which was acknowledged to have hitherto attended the exertions of the Government had been chiefly confined to but a comparatively small number of even that limited class of persons whose means, position, and prospects in life could justify them in adopting the study of English, and could enable them to prosecute it to complete advantage; while the far greater majority of our subjects above the condition of mere labourers, and able, from their social circumstances, to receive a lower, but still useful and beneficial degree of education, had been left to gain it, if at all, only from their own indigenous institutions, which afforded very inadequate and imperfect means of instruction. It had therefore long appeared requisite to most persons interested in the well-doing of India, that some portion of the funds employed in education, hitherto confined for the most part to the teaching of English to persons in easy circumstances, should in future be devoted to the improvement of the means of Vernacular Instruction, for the benefit of classes lower in the scale than those upon whom our attention had up to that time been chiefly concentrated, with a view to a gradual extension of this great benefit to lower and lower classes, as the progress of the country should enable them to lay hold of it, so that the English Language and the Vernacular Languages of India together might eventually become the means of a greater and still increasing diffusion of useful knowledge among all persons capable of profiting thereby.

8. Accordingly, among other measures directed chiefly to the extension of the existing system for the benefit of the higher classes, it was prescribed by the Instructions of 1854, that, not in substitution of any measures then in use for the education of the people, which were in fact to receive all possible extension, but as an additional means of national improvement, attention should be closely and

\* Paragraph 11 of the Education Despatch of 19th July 1854.

vigorously directed to the spread of a sound and useful system of Vernacular Instruction. "Our attention," it was stated, "should now be directed to a consideration if possible still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected; namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts; and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed for the future to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure."

9. With this was to be combined an establishment of Normal and Model Schools for the training of masters, a systematic endeavour to raise the character and increase the usefulness of the existing indigenous Schools described by Mr. Adam and others, and the provision of proper Vernacular School Books, admitted to be a great and crying want.

10. All this exertion in the department of Vernacular Education was prescribed, as has been remarked, in addition to a large increase of educational power and energy to be applied chiefly to higher walks of learning and science, and to superior classes of students; and the whole was to be completed by the establishment of Universities at the several Presidencies, for the cultivation of the higher branches of learning; regarding the methods adopted for which purpose the warm approval of the Home Government has only recently been communicated to me by the Honourable the President in Council.

11. Lastly, it was directed, as a necessary consequence of this considerable extension of the general scope of the efforts of the Government, that the existing system of superintendence by amateur Boards and Councils should cease, and that the business of Public Instruction under each Local Government should be conducted under the supervision of one official head, aided by a sufficient number



of properly qualified Inspectors, “ who will periodically report upon the state of those Colleges and Schools which are now supported and managed by Government, as well as of such as will hereafter be brought under Government inspection by the measures that we propose to adopt.\*

12. Thus the Instructions of 1854 aimed at increased effort, stimulus, and encouragement towards the attainment of a high standard of English Education by the majority of the better classes, and for the general spread of European Literature and Science ; at a continuance of encouragement to the cultivation of the Classical Languages of India as heretofore prosecuted ; at a vigorous, systematic, and extended plan for bettering indigenous Vernacular Schools, compiling Vernacular School Books, and facilitating the acquisition of an improved Vernacular education by a large and important section of the people hitherto neglected by Government, and left to their own unassisted exertions ; and finally, at an organized vigilant superintendence and inspection over the whole, without which all the rest would plainly be of none effect.

13. Such the *objects* in view—For the *means* necessarily and unavoidably, and of course intentionally and of set and deliberate purpose—a large additional expenditure on the part of Government, which, so far as it consisted of payment for skilled superintendence, must, by the very necessity of the case, not only be considerable, but must at first, (and this should on no account be overlooked,) be disproportioned to the expenditure upon actual education. For the object was increase of Schools and scholars, and encouragement to local and individual exertion ; and the scale of superintendence could not therefore but be more in accordance with what was intended and shortly expected, than with what existed at the time it was framed. Moreover, the disproportion must continue to decrease as the anticipated increase takes place in the number of Schools and scholars, and will of itself, if not interrupted, soon

\* Paragraphs 15 to 19 of the Despatch of the 19th July 1854.



vanish altogether. It is a disproportion, in short, inseparable from, but belonging only to, the commencement of the plan, which cannot fail to work its own obliteration.

14. And now it appears that the expenditure for these grandly beneficial objects over all India, under the great stimulus given by the Despatch of 1854, has increased from ten to twenty-one lacs of rupees. And this is apparently held up as an amazing evidence of extravagance on the part of the Indian Governments. Yet after all, it is, for all India, much less than a hundredth part of the gross Revenue levied from the people; or say about the cost of five Regiments of English Infantry!

15. Even of this sum, trifling and inconsiderable as it is, compared with the immense objects in view, and the vast population for whose benefit it is expended, but a very small proportion belongs to that part of India with which I am more immediately concerned; the actual additional expense for education in the Lower Provinces between 1854-55 and 1856-57, being no more than 2,62,968, or an increase from 5,19,522 to 7,82,490 for a population of more than thirty millions, yielding a Revenue to Government of above eleven millions sterling annually!

16. But not only is the amount of expenditure complained of as excessive: it is further said to have failed in producing the expected good.

17. What this expected good was, I have already shown; and there is not one purpose enumerated, in which the plans of 1854 can be proved to have failed of effect. In the department of English Education, the Schools are crowded up to their utmost capacity, and the demand for the highest degree of education is so great and so increasing, that we have been able in the Presidency College to double, and in several other Schools considerably to enhance the rate of fees, without in any place more than a slight and temporary diminution in the number of applications for admission, and in most instances without any falling off whatever. The University has been set on foot in a manner that has drawn forth the warm approbation of

the Home Government, and even in its infancy it has already found scholars capable of receiving its degrees, while several hundred young men have passed the Entrance University Examination. The Classical Languages of India are not less cultivated, or with less effect, than formerly; and though there is, and long has been, room for improvement as to Arabic, such as I hope soon to see effected, the study of Sanskrit has advanced and extended. A marked effect has been produced upon the indigenous Schools, not only in Bengal, but even in the less congenial atmosphere of Behar, and in the face of tumult and insurrection. Great progress has been made, under a judicious and liberal encouragement, in the compilation of Vernacular School Books, on which work some of the most capable minds are closely and successfully engaged; and by the establishment of Normal and Model Schools, and a large and unexpectedly successful administration of a system of Grants-in-aid, an extraordinary stimulus has been given to Vernacular Education, not among boys only, but even, to some extent, among girls, which nothing but the present financial difficulties has prevented from becoming enormously extended. Finally, the superintendence and inspection of the whole has been in a remarkable degree vigilant, intelligent, energetic, and successful. In what respect, then, has the plan of 1854 failed of its "expected good"?

18. It cannot surely be that Lord Ellenborough, knowing all this, objects that the ultimate result has not yet been obtained—that while so many fertile fields have been sown but yesterday, the harvest is not yet ripe. Yet in no other sense can it be said that the "expected good" of the Instructions of 1854 has not been realized. All, and more than all that the new system could have been fairly expected to perform in the first two years and a-half of its operation has been amply accomplished. But the "good" of a system of national education is not realized in a day; nor, if the requisite foundation be laid, and the materials for the work judiciously prepared, will it be considered



reasonable to complain that the finished structure of a people's mental and moral improvement has not started instantaneously into view, complete at a word, like the magic palace of Aladdin.

19. In speaking of education in Behar, Lord Ellenborough supposes that the Schools of that Province have been forced upon the people against their will, and against the will of the Landholders; or that the people have been in some manner compelled to establish Schools to be pecuniarily assisted by the Government. This, as Mr. Young has shown, is not the case, nor has the Grant-in-aid system been yet extended to Behar. For the error, however, into which he has fallen, His Lordship is, I am bound to admit, by no means without reason. The impotent and unmeaning flourish of a late Inspector about ordering people to educate their children, though taken by them, I have no doubt, for no more than it was really worth, was enough to inspire doubts as to our mode of action; and still more so the utterly indefensible conduct of Mr. Tayler in raising what was, in plain terms, little better than a forced contribution for his Industrial School at Patna; a measure, however, unsparingly checked and suppressed by the Government as soon as it came to notice. But these were occasional and personal errors, and were, I doubt not, so received by the Natives. Indeed the latter furnished an occasion for declaring emphatically the true policy of Government, and for condemning and repudiating the smallest infringement upon the free and spontaneous will of its subjects in regard to subscriptions for educational and other public purposes. And the declaration of the Government in this respect was widely circulated, and very generally accepted and appreciated by those to whom it was addressed.

20. I am in a position, therefore, to be able to affirm with certainty, and without the smallest fear of contradiction by any well-informed person in India, that, excepting these two instances of error, nothing whatever has been effected towards the spread of education in Behar, or else-



where within the territories under my authority, in any manner contrary to the absolute volition and spontaneous will of the people, whether of high or low degree ; and that—to adopt the language of the Noble Earl himself—it has been made, and is universally within those territories, “quite clear to the people that our Government does not desire to assist in the education of a single child not brought to the School with the full voluntary unsolicited consent of its parents ; and that whoever offers a subscription to a School is at liberty to withdraw it at any time, and will not be thought the worse of for doing so.”\*

21. That, under these circumstances of absolute freedom of will, the people, (even of Behar,) and to a remarkable extent in other parts of the Lower Provinces, have come forward to profit by our assistance, has been indicated with sufficient clearness in Mr. Young’s remarks, and will be found exhibited in full detail in the Statistical Reports of progress periodically published for general information.

22. It has appeared to Lord Ellenborough incredible that Indian parents should voluntarily desire to send their female children to School : and against this possibility His Lordship sets the fact that there is in India, especially among the higher classes of society, a strong prejudice in favour of domestic education.†

23. As to this last point, Mr. Young has well replied that this prejudice is not confined to India ; and he has added the notorious fact, that however strong may be the general prejudice against female education, in or out of School, it is undoubtedly giving way (and that not in Bengal only) before the gradual spread of enlightenment :

\* Letter of Lord Ellenborough to the Court of Directors.

† I am not certain if it was intended by Lord Ellenborough to apply this remark regarding domestic education to female education only, or to the education of males also : but I lean to the former interpretation, and have commented upon it in that sense, as has also Mr. Young. As applied to male education, I do not see the tendency of the remark, unless it were to be inferred that all Schools were needless, and at all events undesired by the Natives of India. But this, I feel convinced, was not His Lordship’s intention.

and the instance given by Mr. Young of the 1370 girls recently sent to School at the simple will and pleasure of the rural population of about forty villages in Burdwan and Húghly, strong as it is, and unanswerable as to the fact averred, is but one of several cases that could be produced to prove the change of feeling which has taken place and is diffusing itself among the people. No regret is too great for the necessity under which the Government of India conceived itself to lie of discouraging, and in fact abolishing, these forty Schools, on account of financial considerations. For the impulse had begun to seize the people, and, having been communicated to them by one of their venerated Brahmins, would assuredly have spread with rapidity if it had been thought possible to take advantage of the golden opportunity, now, I fear, lost for many a coming day.

24. I can add nothing to the forcible observations made by Mr. Young upon the very singular and unexpected assumption by Lord Ellenborough, that by the system of education we desire to introduce under the Instructions of 1854, we shall practically give a high degree of mental cultivation to the labouring classes, while we leave the more wealthy in ignorance. It is the fact, as Mr. Young explains, that, up to 1854, the very contrary has been our course, until it has been urged against us as a reproach that we lavished our high education on the higher classes, and stinted even the narrowest instruction to the poor.

25. It is a fact, also, patent upon the face of the Instructions of 1854, that while they desired to give a suitable Vernacular Education to (not the labouring classes) but some of the classes hitherto neglected, by means which must necessarily be very slow in their operation, they sought not to diminish, but, on the contrary, to enhance and extend the advantages enjoyed by the higher classes, and the diffusion among them of a higher standard of culture.

26. We may be at ease, therefore, as to any fatal consequence resulting from our over-teaching the labouring



classes: for neither the condition of these classes, nor the nature of the measures prescribed and adopted, render it otherwise than most remotely probable that they will be at all affected by what we are doing; while the classes who are to benefit by our plans of improved Vernacular Education are, to a large extent, those who get a Vernacular Education already, but of an unimproving, if not indeed debasing, and at all events, inadequate and ineffective nature. For these, and for all others who are included within the scope of our endeavours in this direction, the education we try to impart is indeed scarcely more than elementary; and though it will probably fit them better than they are now fitted for the business of the shop and the market, and may open their eyes in some small degree to the moral and physical conditions of their being, and of the world around them, it can in no way have any tendency mischievously to rouse their ambition, and, as is judiciously represented by Mr. Young, on the authority of no mean masters of the subject, will rather operate to repress political convulsion than to excite it.

27. It is true, as stated by Lord Ellenborough, that the Instructions of 1854 contain no explicit directions to afford aid to Missionary Schools. But it was a necessary and unavoidable consequence of the Grant-in-aid system prescribed by those Instructions that aid should not be withheld from such Schools.

28. It was obvious to the authors of those Instructions that the improvement they proposed to adopt must, under the most favourable circumstances, cause, and, as observed by Lord Ellenborough with dissatisfaction, has already caused a large and increasing addition to the public expenditure. It would assuredly have caused a much larger increase of expense, if, as Mr. Young remarks, the Government had determined "to keep aloof from all private Educators, and to set up a complete and gigantic machinery of purely State Colleges, Schools, Interpreters, and Controllers, for all classes of the people throughout British India." But this would manifestly have been impossible.



29. "When we consider," was the observation contained in the Instructions in question, "the vast population" of British India, and the sums which are now expended upon educational efforts, which, however successful in themselves, "have reached but an insignificant number of those who are of a proper age to receive school instruction, we cannot but be impressed with the almost insuperable difficulties which would attend such an extension of the present system of education by means of Colleges and Schools entirely supported at the cost of Government, as might be hoped to supply, in any reasonable time, so gigantic a deficiency, and to provide adequate means for setting on foot such a system as we have described, and desire to see established.

"The consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the Natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the State, has led us to the natural conclusion, that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and liberality of the educated and wealthy Natives of India, and of other benevolent persons.

"We have therefore resolved to adopt in India the system of Grants-in-aid, which has been carried out in this country with very great success; and we confidently anticipate, by thus drawing support from local resources, in addition to contributions from the State, a far more rapid progress of education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by the Government; while it possesses the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combination for local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation.

"The system of Grants-in-aid which we propose to establish in India, will be based on an entire abstinence from

interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the Schools assisted."

Thus the Grant-in-aid system was a necessary and unavoidable consequence of the determination to aim at an increased diffusion of education. In no other way could the object possibly be accomplished: and, a general system of Grants-in-aid being for these reasons prescribed by the Instructions of 1854, without any hint of an exception, it followed of course, other things being supposed equal, that Missionary Schools should receive grants like all others. But this granting of aid to Missionary Schools has been objected to by some persons of weight and authority, and by Lord Ellenborough among the weightiest, in the letter now before me.

30. In discussing this important question, it is necessary of course to bear in mind the history of the transaction: the aiding of Missionary Schools should be looked upon, not as a measure by itself, as if it were to be inquired whether, abstractedly from all other operations, it is or is not expedient to adopt a measure for giving Grants-in-aid to Christian Missionary Schools; but whether, it having been determined to aid *all other Schools*, Christian Missionary Schools shall be excepted and excluded: and it obviously lies upon those who would make this singular and solitary exception to a great and national measure to give their reasons for the exclusion.

31. To the objects proposed by the Instructions of 1854 no one has raised any opposition. They are universally allowed to have been wise and good. But they cannot be carried into effect without resort to a system of Grants-in-aid, which is also, for other reasons, a desirable system for adoption. Grants-in-aid then are offered, upon certain terms, to all Schools. To Hindú Schools of all sects, whether followers of Vishnu or Siva, or of the many other religious divisions which prevail among the people known to us by the generic name of Hindú, but differing on many religious points far more than Roman Catholic differs from



Protestant; to the Schools of the Sikh followers of Gúrú Govind; to Jain Schools; to Búdhist Schools; to Parsí Schools; to Mohammedan Schools of both sects, Sheah and Súní, to Schools, in short, of every religion and sect, from Peshawur to Cape Comorin; and from the confines of Persia to the confines of Siam. *One* solitary exception is made—the Christian School: all others may be aided and encouraged by the Government, but this must not. And why not?

32. To this the objectors reply that the reason for the exclusion of Christian Missionary Schools is because of the peculiarity of their character: we have promised to the people of India “perfect neutrality in matters of religion;” but the Missionary desires to make converts—to proselytize—and does in fact proselytize, more or less, wherever he is able: we therefore ought not to aid him even in teaching the Rule of Three, lest we should thus aid him in teaching Christianity, and so infringe our promised neutrality.

33. But is proselytism only confined to Christian Missionaries? and do Mohammedans never practise conversion? Does the grave old Moslem village Teacher never turn the tender Hindú mind aside from Dúrga and Vishnú to serve the one God of Islam, and to believe in Mohammed his prophet? or rather, is it not notorious that for one convert made by a Christian Missionary the Mohammedan Missionary in many parts of India makes ten? Nay, are there not avowed atheistical teachers, both of Hindú and Mohammedan extraction, who glory in making proselytes to their unbelief? Are converts never made from one sect of Hindúism to another? Does the worshipper of Mahadeo never turn Vaishnava at the preaching of some sedulous adorer of Vishnú? or, on the other hand, the Vaishnava never become a Saiva? Have not many Nepaulese within our territories been converted to Hindúism? and many Hindús to the religion of Gúrú Govind?

34. In truth, religious proselytism in India is by no means limited to Christian Missionaries, who are certainly the least numerous of those who make conversion their busi-



ness, and as yet by no means the most successful. Our promise of religious neutrality, whether express or implied, does not specify Christianity as its only subject; but applies to all religions. Undoubtedly we should offend just as much against it by assisting to convert a Hindú to Mohammedanism, or a Saiva to Vaishnavism, as by assisting to convert any one of these to Christianity. No doubt Lord Ellenborough, than whom no one has a better knowledge of India, is well aware of this, and rests his opinion on other and stronger grounds: but there are many who adopt the views of Lord Ellenborough without apprehending his reasons, and who justify the special exclusion of Christian Missionary Schools from the benefit of a general boon by pressing upon our promise of neutrality a narrow and one-sided construction. They are willing to give any amount of aid to any number of Hindú and Mohammedan Schools, without asking any questions about the effect produced on religious neutrality as between these two religions, although well aware of the conversions continually going on among them; but they are smitten with an inconceivably scrupulous prudery when asked to aid a single Christian School in the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic, see seducing proselytism lurking under every figure of the multiplication table, and tremble for the violation of an already prostituted neutrality.

35. It is manifest that if our promise of neutrality is to be construed in this minute and microscopic or *monoscopic* fashion, it will not merely bar the aiding of Christian Schools, but must put a stop to the whole system of Grants-in-aid. The authors of the Instructions of 1854, well informed as to the subject of religious sects and divisions in India, wisely prescribed an entire abstinence from interference with, or enquiry as to the religious instruction conveyed in the Schools assisted; and this was an intelligible and practicable direction. But if to give money aid towards the secular instruction afforded in any kind of School be also to assist in the conversion of every pupil whose religious sentiments may undergo a change in con-

sequence of the peculiar views of his master, or his fellow-pupils, so far from abstaining from interference or enquiry, we must enquire closely and constantly into the religious teaching of every so-called Hindú, or Mohammedan, or Búdhist, or Parsí, or Sikh, or any other kind of School, lest it should tend towards some kind of conversion among the pupils, and thus make us unwittingly guilty of a violation of our religious neutrality. For who knows, without this incessant (and of course altogether impracticable) enquiry, whether the most seemingly pure Hindú or Mohammedan teaching may not be proselytism in disguise, involving the Government in unknown and unimagined responsibilities? whether the Head Master may not be privately inculcating atheism, or the Persian Múnshí preparing some of his Hindú pupils for receiving the initiatory rite of Islam, while seeming merely to turn over the somniferous pages of the Gúlistan or the Aklaki Julalí?

36. It has been asked (when the question was formerly discussed of admitting Missionary Schools to benefits granted to all other Schools) how it could be just to expend money raised by taxes from the people of India in aid of their conversion to Christianity. "How, for example," it has been said, "would the Scotch feel, and how would they be likely to act, if Scotch taxes were spent upon Propaganda Missions in Scotland?" But surely, I would ask, with great respect for the author of this ingenious query, is not this putting the case the wrong side uppermost? The true and only relevant query is—How would it look if Grants-in-aid being offered out of the general taxation for the assistance of all Schools in Scotland, they were nevertheless specially withheld from Roman-Catholic applicants, because the teachers of that denomination avowed a desire to make proselytes whenever they could? Or how, if they were given to the Established Church Schools and denied (for a similar reason) to the Free Kirk Schools? or if any other like arbitrary exception were made, to please a bigoted and (numerically) dominant majority? The cases I have supposed are exactly



parallel to that before us, for the promise of religious neutrality is everywhere expressed or else implied, and belongs indeed to the very system of Grants-in-aid.

37. The Hindú parent whose son submits to circumcision in consequence of the wily arts of his Mohammedan Múnshí at the Hindú School aided by Government, is not one whit less aggrieved at this result of the application of his taxation than he would be if the corresponding accident had happened at an aided Christian School. Why should the one event be more the fault of the Government than the other?

38. Although I am by no means certain that all the Missionaries would agree in terms to the statement, I have nevertheless no hesitation in asserting that it is not really the case, in the sense intended by Lord Ellenborough, and repeated by many others, that the primary object of the Missionary Schools is proselytism; and assuredly the people of the country do not act as if they agreed with the Noble Earl as to this part of the subject, for they send their children to Missionary Schools without stint, and, apparently, without the slightest fear of the consequences. There is hardly a Missionary School in the country that has not three or four or more what are affectingly called "heathen" *i. e.* Hindú children, in it, for one Christian child at the School. People confound the Missionary with the Schools he superintends. The primary object of the Missionary is no doubt proselytism; but the primary object of his School is unquestionably proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic. You may go into twenty Schools one after another in this country, and, unless you ask questions, or happen to drop in just when the Bible class is "up," you will not guess, from any thing that is going on before you, whether you are in a Missionary School or not. The object of the Missionary School will appear the same, as indeed it is the same, as that of the "neutral" School on the other side of the way. The Missionary desires to teach the elements of knowledge to his young Christian pupils, and also to as many more pupils as



choose to attend, or as he is able to accommodate. He has a firm conviction, no doubt, that it is wrong to teach at all without also teaching the Bible; and accordingly he makes it known, practically, that those who come to his School must submit to read that book; and they read it accordingly, and never make the smallest objection; having found out (which every Missionary has not) that the mere thumbing of the Bible as a class-book does not by any means tend to make Christians. But they know that the primary object and intent of the School is to teach them to read and write and cypher, and that they will be taught these things effectually; and therefore they go, nothing doubting. It is not altogether unreasonable to say that the Government ought not to aid the Missionary to do this to two hundred and fifty Hindú boys in a School, because he is (out of School) employed as a religious preacher and teacher, and because he has also some fifty Christian boys in the same School, with whom, in School at all events, he deals and communes no otherwise than with the two hundred and fifty "heathen?"

39. Like Mr. Young, I am quite unable to understand how giving aid to secular teaching in a School superintended by a Missionary can be interpreted into a breach of our pledge of neutrality in matters of religion. The grant is carefully assigned for a defined secular purpose—to pay the salary of a writing master, or a teacher of arithmetic, or it may be to purchase black boards, or geographical maps, or pictures illustrative of natural history; and care is taken by vigilant Inspectors that the grant is applied no otherwise than intended. The Missionary cannot, if he would, employ the money in any way of proselytism; and in fact is well content to use it in the better teaching of those rudiments of Art and Science to which only it is applicable. All this is mere current fact, of which any one may satisfy himself who chooses to enquire on the spot: and to erect these boards and maps and pictures into even an imaginary machinery of religious conversion is so manifestly impossible, that the ob-

jectors take refuge either in some supposed dissatisfaction of the Natives, or, as in Lord Ellenborough's present letter, in the somewhat recondite supposition of an indirect connection between the purposes of the Missionary and the purposes of Government, as if, "through the aid thus given professedly for secular education, the Missionary is enabled to keep the School at all, which he only designs for other, and those proselytizing purposes."\* May it be allowed me, without any imputation of disrespect, to suppose, that they who argue thus would advise the Government, if the question were of dealing with a Missionary Bookseller, or printing at a Missionary Press (no imaginary case, but one that actually occurs), to buy no secular books of him, and to employ none of his types and presses, lest he should use the money in Missionary operations, and so the Government should commit a breach of neutrality?

40. Let it be remembered that the Missionary and his Christian pupils are not less subjects of the British Government and payers of British taxes than the most unquestionable Hindús in the country are. Are they not to share in a boon given to all their fellow-subjects? Is the mere fact of their religion and their wish to extend it, to exclude them from a benefit which may be enjoyed by the veriest hedge-pedagogue in the neighbourhood—bigot and proselytizer as he may be in his way—if he be but a Hindú or a Mohammedan?

41. And let it be remembered also that nobody is forced to send his son to a Missionary School. If the Missionary Schools, even in the immediate vicinity and presence of "neutral" Schools, are crowded with Hindú boys, why is it but for the sake of the education to be got there? "I should feel," shrewdly remarked the present Chief Justice of Bengal,† "the abstract injustice of supporting Missionary Schools in part with the funds derived from the general Revenues of the country far more strongly, if I did

\* Lord Ellenborough's Letter.

† Bengal Select Records, No. 22, Page 60.



not know that many Hindú, if not Mussulman parents, do send their children to Missionary Schools for the sake of the secular instruction to be had there, without much fear of their being converted." No doubt the comparative cheapness of the Missionary School has its effect in attracting pupils; the Hindús being glad, for the difference of perhaps a few annas, to resort to the Missionary School, not considering the chance of conversion worthy to be weighed against the saving of their money. But if, on such slight pecuniary inducement, large numbers of Hindús send their children to these Schools for the secular advantages they give, the notion of excluding the Schools from the general benefits of Grants-in-aid becomes to me altogether unintelligible. This is to be more Hindú than the Hindoos themselves. The Hindús are not afraid of the Schools, nay, they approve of them, and show it by sending their children to them in large numbers; yet we are on no account to aid them, out of respect for the consciences of these very Hindús: nay, we are to be afraid of being seen looking over the hedge at them, and are to shrink from the responsibility of giving them a single obolus, lest, as Lord Ellenborough says, it should "naturally give alarm to the people.\*

42. Although I think that they are in error who would construe our promises of "neutrality in religious matters" as applying only to Christianity, and not to all other religions in India, I am by no means desirous of limiting our obligations by any appeal to a mere construction of phrases. The justice and policy, nay, the essential Christian duty of holding the Government clear of all concern

\* I have just conversed with the Head Master of a Missionary School at Garden Reach, aided by Government. He has 150 boys, all, I think, Hindús, and all, or nearly all, the masters are Hindús but himself. The Hindú parents make no objection to his teaching, and so great is the desire to make use of the School that the rate of monthly Schooling payment has been quadrupled in two years, without any serious or lasting effect on the numbers of the pupils. He was careful to assure me that he trained his boys up to the University Entrance (secular) standard.

and interference with the religious controversies of its subjects, is, in my mind, anterior and superior to all actual pledges; and is indeed the foundation on which alone can rest the political rectitude of any such pledges, and the only reason by which they can be rationally justified. I refuse therefore to assent to the views of those who would restrain the Government from connexion with Christian Missionaries while allowing it to mix freely with the schemes of Hindú or Mohammedan proselyters, or who would rest the question solely or chiefly on the ground of danger to our own power, or of offence likely to be taken by our subjects because of any given measure, without reference to other and larger considerations. With regard to danger—we must weigh it, undoubtedly, in every case against the duty proposed; and though we ought not lightly or carelessly to incur it, or to rush upon it for trivial or unimportant objects, we can never permit ourselves to shrink from it when the question is of justice and equity, or of our admittedly highest moral obligations to the people over whom we rule. And as to offence—we are bound, no doubt, not only not to attempt to introduce the force and influence of Government into that which ought to be matter of private conviction between man and his own conscience, but also not to act so as to be suspected on plausible grounds of doing so;\* yet we are not to yield up all our equitable and beneficial purposes to the mere puerilities of Native Indian prejudice, or to resign the duties of our sovereignty at every unintelligible cry of groundless and unreasonable alarm. Just offence to the religious feelings of our subjects we should never give, if it be possible to avoid it; but it would be vain to shape our measures so as to avert every frivolous and unmeaning ebullition of superstitious or ignorant credulity. Had this been our own practical construction of our duties, or our promises, we must have withheld from all innovation upon the consecrated barbarisms which have from time to time fallen

\* Speech of Lord Stanley at Fishmongers' Hall.



unlamented before the advance of our English civilization. Widows would still be burnt alive on the banks of the Ganges; human sacrifices would still delight the bloody Dúrga at Kalighât; the car of Juggernath would still yearly roll over its crushed and writhing victims; and Brahmin murderers would be exempt from capital punishment, as in the days of Vicramaditya.

43. If indeed reasonable or unreasonable offence given to the prejudices of the Natives, and even the most indirect attacks upon the doctrines of Hindúism or Islam be infringements of "our promised neutrality in matters of religion," which seems fairly to result from the arguments used against assisting secular education in a Missionary School, I see not how we can prosecute our schemes of education at all, or how the scientific and historical teaching of our Government Schools and Colleges can be acquitted of complicity and proselytism. "We are teaching," as Lord Ellenborough himself says, "new things in a new way." And those things are not only new, but they are so palpably incompatible with the fundamental facts and doctrines of the religions of our Indian subjects, that those subjects have become well aware of the consequences of acquiring them. Mohammedans avoid and anathematize our most secular Schools, avowedly because the teaching employed cannot but have a tendency to shake the foundations of their faith: and Hindús openly talk of the acquirement of a high standard of education in one of our Colleges, as synonymous with disbelief in the articles of Hindúism. To declare these facts is to reveal nothing that is not thoroughly known and widely discussed in all native society; and no one is blind enough not to perceive, or hardy enough to deny, that the knowledge communicated in Government Schools professedly non-Missionary, conduces directly to uproot the ancient forms of belief, and thus to prepare the way for the reception of new. Will they who scruple at the gift of a map, or an elementary treatise on arithmetic to a Missionary Teacher of secular knowledge, lest it should involve them in the indirect

conversion of a Village School-boy, continue to teach Geography and Astronomy to Hindús and Mohammedans, heedless of the effect of these and other sciences on the permanent orthodoxy of both these sections of our subjects? Or, on the other hand, will they consistently put down all our Colleges and Schools "to tranquillize the minds of the Natives," and cover again the fair face of India with more than the old darkness from which it has begun to emerge, in order to regain the people's confidence and rule in patriarchal security?

44. I am not disposed to deny that there has been a little too much *fuss* made about the extension of education; and that it would have been better to act without quite so much talking, especially in the darker and less-educated parts of our dominions, where I think that the people have been, in their ignorance, rather frightened about our measures, and therefore suspicious as to the result. In Behar, no doubt, they call the Inspector's office "*Sheitan ka dufter khanah*"—*the devil's Counting-house*—which certainly showed scant affection towards it, and a decidedly imperfect appreciation of the benefits to be ultimately derived therefrom. Moreover, until it was authoritatively suppressed, they were appalled by Mr. Tayler's gigantic "benevolence," levied for the sake of his favourite Industrial Institution. This was, however, partly accidental, and partly the result of the dense ignorance of the people of that part of the country. And it has been most justly remarked by Mr. Young, that, as might indeed have been anticipated, the greater the spread of education in any part of our territories, the greater in that part was the loyalty of the people during the late disturbances, and the less their apprehensions as to our motives and intentions.

45. I do not think it possible, either in Behar or in any other part of the world, European or Asiatic, to inaugurate, however cautiously, a system of education for a people yet wholly ignorant and benighted, without exciting suspicion or dissatisfaction, or both. Nor do I believe that your benighted European peasant is a bit easier to exalt than his



Hindú brother in the Province of Behar, or at all less jealous and suspicious when his prejudices are attacked, or interfered with. But what then? Are we to stay our healing hand because the patient is ignorant and refractory? The condition of popular ignorance is everywhere the condition of political danger; and for that reason alone we ought to persevere in our endeavours to remove it. It is a career in which every step lessens the difficulty of advancing, and in which ultimate success is certain.

46. Far therefore, very far am I from agreeing with those who would abandon the effort because, in the first instance, the people have anywhere shown a disinclination, or even dissatisfaction regarding it. It may be right to use more caution and to be more on our guard against the errors of unscrupulous, or over-zealous agents; but the deeper and darker the ignorance the more determined and persevering should be our determination to remove it. At the best it must be the work of time, and of a long and weary time, a time full of difficulties and discouragements, and, if you will, of dangers. But the sooner we begin, the sooner we shall succeed in making an impression; nor is there any reasonable ground for believing that, without our exertions, any thing will ever be accomplished. As the peasant of Behar has been for two thousand years, so he may be, for lack of any internal and self-vivifying influences, for two thousand years more, unless we interfere to change him. To sit still and fold our hands in expectation until the people shall of themselves be "ready" for education, is to repeat, in another shape, the old story of the expectant rustic on the river bank; nor should we forget that while we inactively gaze and gaze at the still impracticable flood of popular ignorance, it may suddenly rise and overwhelm us in a moment.

47. Our wisdom then, no less than our duty, is to persevere in what we have begun, and not to turn our backs upon Behar, or any other parts of our territory, because there is difficulty or danger in the path of improvement. It is certain, however, that both the difficulty and the

danger are exaggerated, and look imposing only to those who keep at a distance from them, and view them through the delusive mist of prejudice and misinformation. As to difficulty—the progress of Bengal, even within the memory of living witnesses, is a proof of the aptitude of the people, and of their plastic docility. And though it is not uncommon in these days to attribute the recent mutinies to our educational operations, and even to propose to draw back from them for fear of similar consequences in future, the error of this opinion is like that of a man who, after unwisely and incautiously exposing a barrel of gunpowder to all kinds of dangerous influences, and having by good luck, and in spite of bad management, long escaped without an accident, should at last, when the fatal and inevitable explosion takes place, blame neither the gunpowder, nor his own rashness and indiscretion, but rather lay the whole mischief to account of some one of many little sparks flying about, and talk of limiting the use of fire and candle in future to prevent similar occurrences.

48. The people of Behar doubted and disliked our plans of education, as all ignorant people doubt and dislike schemes for their improvement. But if the army had not mutined the people would never have thought of rebelling in consequence of our Schools, nor have they now thought of it. For the few of the people of Behar who have joined the rebellious troops have done so, some because they were bound with those troops in the closest ties of relationship, and others because they were thieves and plunderers by taste and profession, and ready to take advantage of any moment of confusion. And, except in rare cases, no especial hostility has been shown towards educational buildings or persons, so that the work of the Schoolmaster has gone on, little if at all affected by the surrounding disturbances. The army mutinied because it was a mercenary army, ill-organized, misgoverned, spoilt, encouraged into the grossest exaggeration of its own supposed power and importance, unwatched, unguarded, unsuspected, and, in its material, ignorant, uneducated, and superstitious



beyond all other classes of our subjects. Of all men in India the Sepoys had known the least and felt the least of our zeal for education; which, whatever it had incited us to do elsewhere, had never led us to think of educating the Soldier, or of raising him from his debased and semi-savage intellectual condition. It was an army always more or less mutinous, always on the verge of revolt, and certain to have mutinied at one time or another as soon as provocation might combine with opportunity. It is vain to talk of this great, but always impending, always inevitable mutiny, as if it had been caused by a few Schools in Hindústan. The mutiny had many causes, of which Schools were the most trifling and the most inconsiderable; and it would have taken place, sooner or later, though there had never been a child taught to cypher from one end of India to the other.

49. Regarding the observations of Sir George Clerk appended to Lord Ellenborough's letter, Mr. Young seems to have made nearly all the observations that are required. Sir George Clerk's paper is indeed not an easy one to follow in its present shape, it appearing to consist of independent memoranda jotted down at different times without any necessary connection and without any purpose of publication, and thrown together, rather by accident than by intention, without any opportunity for connection and arrangement.

50. It is apparent, however, that Sir George Clerk is not one of those who would refrain from endeavouring to obviate the dangers of popular ignorance; or who are content to give a high education to the higher classes while neglecting to improve the Vernacular Schools of the lower. On the contrary, he sneers at the attempt to enable the Natives to speak, or, as he phrases it, to "to babble" the language of their Rulers, and looks back with satisfaction to his own advocacy of the claims of the indigenous Village School for the poor to the support and assistance of Government; which, he says, led to those measures of Mr. Thomason's for the extension of Vernacular Education

which have attracted so much approbation and are lauded by Sir George Clerk himself. These measures, which differ considerably from those adopted for the same end in the Lower Provinces, and which have ever since been pursued in the North-Western Provinces, have formed the model of all subsequent educational measures in those Provinces, and have been usually considered very successful ; but they have recently been accused by Mr. Raikes and Mr. Gubbins of causing great dissatisfaction, not so much on account of any objection made to the system of teaching, as because of the special taxation by which they are (or were) supported, and the methods by which it was levied.

51. Of the objectionable schemes and practices of "some of Mr. Thomason's Subordinates," alluded to in Sir George Clerk's paper without distinct specification, as marring the fair promise of that eminent man's exertions, and destroying the benefits he had intended by his educational plans in the Provinces over which he ruled so well, I confess I never heard, nor are they mentioned in any of the official reports of the time. But Sir George Clerk has large access to means of accurate information, and has doubtless not written without due authority. It is probable, indeed, that Mr. Thomason, like others in a similar position, may have had occasionally to contend with the rash and unguarded zeal of a few self-constituted Official-Missionaries, impatient of moderate counsels and intolerant of the clearest pledges of fair religious neutrality. But I doubt if Mr. Thomason was likely to allow his plans to be in the main at all affected by any such partial and temporary difficulties ; and what is so well known and approved as Mr. Thomason's system of Vernacular Education had, assuredly, not the smallest taint of religious intolerance, and was far more likely to be condemned than approved by any of those intemperate advocates of extreme counsels, to whose supposed influence over Mr. Thomason's measures, Sir George Clerk is disposed to attribute so much importance.

52. I trust I may be excused for saying, with real deference to Sir George Clerk's name, experience, and au-



thority, that the evidence which he has adduced in proof, as it would seem, of the connexion of our educational measures with the "passiveness or misconduct" of the people during the late mutinies, is not convincing to my mind. Mr. Colvin, it seems, mentioned, in May 1857, as an instance of wide, deep, and unfounded delusion, that "many certainly thought we were tricking them out of their caste." And Sir George Clerk asks with some indignation "what sort of a system of education and superintendence of education, of which it is boasted in published reports that it pervades the influential as well as the humble classes, has that been, when, after ten years' operation, by means of expensive and numerous establishments of every sort, the masses consider its patrons to be dishonest and tricky?" But I do not feel certain that this application of Mr. Colvin's phrase to the system of education is actually warranted by any part of Mr. Colvin's expressions. Mr. Colvin said we were erroneously supposed to be tricking the Natives, but he did not say we were thought to be doing this *by means of education*. He alluded, I think, rather to the current story of the greased cartridges, then generally put forward as the exciting cause of the mutiny.\* Further, Mr. Colvin, who was certainly entitled to be

\* The phrase alluded to by Sir George Clerk occurs in a hasty telegraphic message from Mr. Colvin to the Governor-General, dated 24th May 1857, a time of confusion, agitation, and alarm. Mr. Colvin says:—"On the mode of dealing with the mutineers, I would strenuously oppose general severity towards all. Such a course would, as we are unanimously convinced by a knowledge of the feeling of the people, acquired amongst them from a variety of sources, estrange the remainder of the army. Hope, I am firmly convinced, should be held out to all those who were not ringleaders or actively concerned in murder and violence. Many are in the rebels' ranks because they could not get away: many certainly thought we were tricking them out of their caste; and this opinion is held, however unwisely, by the mass of the population, and even by some of the more intelligent classes. Never was delusion more wide or deep. Many of the best soldiers in the army, amongst others of its most faithful section, the Irregular Cavalry, show a marked reluctance to engage in a war against men whom they believe to have been

heard on the subject, calls this supposition a "delusion." But on this head Sir George Clerk gives no weight to Mr. Colvin's authority; on the contrary, he differs from him altogether. "Every one," he says, "acquainted with the actual state of things in the North-Western Provinces, knows that this was NO DELUSION." It is rather hard, perhaps, that Mr. Colvin should be credited for his knowledge of "the actual state of things" when he says what savours of Sir George Clerk's opinions, and discredited when he speaks on the other side of the question.

53. The foregoing remarks relate, however, to the North-Western Provinces, and are foreign to my immediate jurisdiction. But, coming to that part of India with which I am chiefly concerned, Sir George Clerk finds a proof of the connexion of our education system with "the disloyalty of the people of Behar" in a newspaper "known" (to Sir George Clerk) as "the organ of the Government of India," which it appears has delivered itself of an opinion on the subject, to the effect that the people of the Province in question had been excited by an educational controversy in 1855, and "large classes were known to be deeply disaffected." But I really cannot admit that "the people of Behar" have shown any disloyalty, but in general, and in the great majority of cases, a very different feeling. The peculiar case of the Sepoy District of Shahabad cannot be quoted as an exception; and even in Shahabad not a few of the most influential people have sided with us, including the predominant Rajah of Dumraon, who has suffered with us, made common cause with us, and been present in person, with a very useful contingent, in more than one engagement. The loyal services of the two great Rajahs of North Behar, the Rajah of Bettiah and the Rajah of Hutwa, have been conspicuous; and the Rajah of Deo, in South Behar, raised a force of horse and foot at my requisition, and headed

misled on the point of religious honour." Such a message as this is not greatly to be relied upon for any theory of the mutinies, but such as it is, it seems to me to afford no ground for Sir George Clerk's construction of its meaning.



them with eminent success to repress the insurrection in Palamow, and relieve the small garrison engaged in its defence. And many smaller chiefs and persons of condition and influence in the province have likewise so acted as to deserve and receive the maked acknowledgments of Government. It is due to them and to their many dependants who followed the example of their leaders, that I, to whom their loyal services are known, should not be silent when they are included with a whole province in a general and most undeserved charge of disloyalty, which would not have happened, but that Sir George Clerk, when he wrote, had not yet been acquainted with the facts.\*

\* I find that the notion of the disaffection of Behar has been more recently imparted to the British public by Mr. Russell, the *Times* correspondent, who, in a letter dated 28th August 1858, has the following special paragraph devoted to the fact:—

“Behar has exhibited such deep-seated thorough disaffection that it must be searched to the very core by our troops as soon as the weather permits them to move. When this spirit of hostility has been subdued it will be deeply interesting to enquire what were the causes of its existence, and why the district which boasts the oldest settlement, and which has been longest under our rule, should have proved so inimical to the Government. The Punjab, our most recent acquisition, faithful; Behar, our oldest possession, bitterly opposed to us: there is a problem here for our Indian Statesmen and their English councillors.”

There is no foundation for this. Behar consists of eight districts, seven of which have shown no symptom whatever of disaffection or hostility to Government. The eighth is Shahabad, which is a Sepoy recruiting district, and has certainly been disaffected, though not wholly. But even Shahabad would probably have shown no disaffection but that a large part of it was held for several months by the rebel force.

Even the supposed disaffection of the city of Patna has proved a mistake. The city has remained perfectly well affected from first to last, and on one remarkable occasion, when a few rioters from without endeavoured to excite the people and get up a disturbance, the whole city held aloof, and testified unmistakeably the entire peaceableness of its inhabitants. The disaffection of Patna and the danger of Patna have been loudly proclaimed for personal and peculiar objects. But they have been proved altogether without foundation.

54. Sir George Clerk has justly censured the egregious blunders of those who are said to have employed "regular Clergymen of the Establishment in the Government Educational Department." Assuredly I should join with Sir George Clerk in objecting to the policy of employing such agency. But I may add that nothing of the kind has taken place in the provinces under my administration; nor indeed, as far as I am informed, in any part of the North-Western Provinces.

55. The extracts of private Native letters quoted by Sir George Clerk are obviously not adduced in proof of the educational delinquency of the Indian Government, for they do not contain a word on the subject. One man in Bombay bewails the calamities produced by the rebellion, and complains of the "rabid Indian Press," as calumniating his innocent countrymen. Another thinks the Sepoys were rendered suspicious of our intention to convert them by the thoughtless zeal of the officers preaching on the parade-ground and in the cantonment. A third remarks generally that a Government is wrong which commits a breach of faith, and requires of the people what to them is an abomination. A fourth has an objection to "inflammatory Christian articles in newspapers," and thinks such things, combined with greased cartridges, may sometimes produce fearful results. But all this has no relation to the alleged evil influence of our Schools and Colleges, and is not quoted by Sir George Clerk with any reference to that particular subject.

56. Undoubtedly, in so vast a country as British India, administered through a numerous body of agents under circumstances of unavoidably imperfect control, instances will occur of individual imprudence, or even injustice, which are of course to be reprobated and deplored. Sir George Clerk has mentioned a few isolated occurrences of this kind; but he does not need to be reminded that they cannot be treated as if they were specimens of the constant deliberate acts of the Government, and of all its officers.



A gentleman has told Sir George Clerk that his *locum tenens* proposed a very foolish thing to the Government;\* and there is perfect justice in the remarks which follow on the wrongfulness of such a course as between "a foreign Government and the tax-payer of another religion." But no blame can attach to the Government to whom the folly was proposed till it be ascertained whether they accepted it or rejected it. It may seem almost certain that the proposition was rejected, seeing that no Missionaries are, or ever have been, appointed Inspectors of Schools, at all events on this side of India. Surely Sir George Clerk would have thought it hard, if, in the course of his eminent career in India, he had been held answerable for every vain proposal for which he had ever rebuked a stupid subordinate. It is stated in another part of Sir George Clerk's paper, that in the jail at Prome, a Missionary has been (very injudiciously, as I think) allowed to enter the jail and preach to the prisoners. But this must have been a local and peculiar departure from right policy. A similar thing was lately proposed to me for the jail at Monghyr, and was immediately disapproved and prohibited.

57. I could wish that Sir George Clerk had been more merciful to "our Chief Presidency in India," meaning, no doubt, Bengal, which is sharply censured for habitual "exaggeration," for "fallacious reports," and for "vain boastings,"† upon the authority of some unverified quota-

\* "A gentlemen who lately came home on leave, and than whom no one in the Bengal Service exerts himself more for the proper schooling of the Natives, and for their improvement in every practicable manner, told me lately, as an instance of the want of judgment displayed by some officials in the North-Western Provinces, that his *locum tenens*, who is also a civilian of several years' service, 'had actually proposed to the Government to appoint a Missionary to be paid Inspector of the Government Tehsildarí Schools.'"

† "Looking to our Chief Presidency in India, it is always as well when considering the real condition of our Schools even there, to make allowance for such exaggerations as are stated in very moderate figures in one of its publications, reviewing summarily the present state of Ceylon in the following terms :—'The remarkable discrepancy between the actual average attendance and the merely nominal attend-

tion from one of "its publications," which certainly cannot be traced in this part of India, and would seem from its text to have been taken from some obscure report of operations in Ceylon. It is but natural that I should be anxious to relieve Bengal from such serious charges against its administration. But I am willing to believe that it happened only through mistake, and that Sir George Clerk will be the first to exonerate us, when he is reminded that it does not follow that Bengal reports are exaggerated because they exaggerate (if they do) such things in Ceylon.

58. In another part of Sir George Clerk's paper (owing no doubt to the promiscuous manner in which these memoranda have been thrown together without any apparent intention of ultimate publication) a report from Behar is made (as shown by Mr. Young) to appear as if it were part of a report from Bengal; and a conclusion is thence drawn, which of course is necessarily erroneous; and it is partly in consequence of this mistake as to his references, that we find it further observed by Sir George Clerk, as if it were a notorious and unquestionable fact, that the fate of Native females leaving "such Schools" is "unhappy." I may be permitted respectfully to observe upon this statement (1) that one of the two reports thus quoted together speaks entirely of boys' Schools; (2) that the second of these amalgamated reports speaks of a private girls' School with which the Government had no concern, and which the Inspector did not presume to visit; and (3) that the "unhappy fate" of these girls must be a matter of the imagination, as there is not on record a single instance of any such "fate" as is herein darkly surmised; not to mention that if girls had gone wrong after leaving a private

ance, as exhibited by the admission-book, is not a phenomenon peculiar to Ceylon. There is perhaps no place in which it more strikingly manifests itself than in the Metropolis of British India: 1500 or 1600 may be reported and boasted of as registered in the admission-book, when the actual attendance may not in reality much exceed 600. All such reports are utterly fallacious—all such boastings must be utterly vain."



School at Baraset or elsewhere, it would not have been for the first time in the history of the world, neither could it possibly have been the fault of Government.

59. The allusions in Sir George Clerk's paper to jail outbreaks in this part of India, and to the alterations in the law of inheritance, do not profess to have any relation to the subject of education, and therefore may be passed over here, though generally judicious, and well worthy of careful consideration. But I would observe, with reference to a particular allusion in this part of Sir George Clerk's memorandum, that no prisoners have been shaved in any jail by order of the Bengal Government.

60. No observation is called for from me by Sir George Clerk's remarks on the Free Press, or on the systems of education specially belonging to Madras and Bombay, which, if they need it, will doubtless receive due notice from those who are concerned in and well informed regarding those systems ; and I will conclude with the following brief observations upon the four specific recommendations of Sir George Clerk quoted below.

61. 1st. \* In the territories under my jurisdiction there is under the control of Government *no* system of insidious conversion by means of Schools professedly secular or by any other means.

62. 2nd. † The Missionaries have, I think, been shown to be involved in no connexion and entanglement, such as is here supposed, requiring their emancipation. They

\* 1st. "Not only to restrain the present erroneous system of insidious attempts at conversion by means of Schools professedly secular, but to prevent the threatened display of still greater indiscretion, prompted by that feeling of immunity from further retaliation, which is imparted by the late arrival of 50,000 additional British troops, and the belief that twice as many more will be promptly supplied as soon as asked for."

† 2nd. "To emancipate the Missionaries from all connexion and entanglement in Government measures, in order that they may continue to be at least respected by the Natives of India, as they formerly deservedly were throughout that country, even during any sudden outrages perpetrated against District Authorities."

would indeed be the last to allow themselves to be so entangled.

63. 3rd. \* The Court of Directors have encouraged the employment of their Civil Servants at the head of the departments of Education, and I may submit that it is obviously desirable that the Government should, through its own servants, have the closest and securest control over that branch of administration, so as to guide it according to its own views. It will certainly be easier so to guide it if the business is in the hands of covenanted Civil Servants than otherwise. For the rest, Sir George Clerk has not, I am sure, perceived, that if the reasons he assigns were admitted, they would prove that the Government Civil Servants were unfit to be employed in any important branch of administration, which is assuredly not an opinion likely to meet with Sir George Clerk's support. They "are eager," says Sir George Clerk, "when employed in this Department," for immediate distinction in the sphere in which they find themselves temporarily placed. But this eagerness for immediate distinction is, I need hardly say, not peculiar to Civilians employed in the department of Education; nor can I think that Sir George Clerk was aware of the undeserved pain he was likely to inflict on many honourable and excellent persons when he seemed to describe them as capable of deceiving their employers by a "hollow discipline," and by bringing forward the zeal of false friends to counterbalance the dissatisfaction of a portion of the community, while they are unable to detect or unwilling to expose the "rose-coloured reports of their subordinates," and their measures are "crudities and frivolities." Sir George Clerk expresses his belief that it is only from persons not in the "Military, Civil, or Clerical branches of the administration that we can expect" honest zeal, patient labour, and indifference to personal distinc-

\* 3rd. "To discontinue the practice of appointing Civilians or others properly belonging to the Civil or Military administration to conduct any of the departments of Education."



tion. But he will, I am sure, forgive me for declaring my conviction that these virtues, rare though they may be in all classes, will not be found less frequently within the ranks of the Government Service than without them; and that the members of the Service of which Sir George Clerk was once so distinguished an ornament, and in which his name will long be remembered with pride, have not, since his departure, so greatly deteriorated as the words of his present recommendation might lead some to suppose.

64. 4th. \* I may safely assure Sir George Clerk that the Government of India has really considered this matter both carefully and calmly; and I am satisfied that the more searching is the enquiry made, the more fully will it be established that the Government of India has not in any manner encouraged any "attempt at proselytism open or disguised."

65. It is indeed curious to observe how the Government of India is attacked on both sides regarding this question; and it might, perhaps, be somewhat trying to the patience, were it not for the evidence thus afforded of its real justice and impartiality. By the extreme professors of one party it has been reproached for indifference and lukewarmness in the sacred cause of religious truth, and stigmatized as "anti-Christian" at least, if not atheistical; and now it is censured for "open or disguised attempts at proselytism," and solemnly reminded of the State virtues of charity, patience, and toleration! Nay, it is even accused of darker and deeper profligacies, which are said to have so clearly led to the recent mutiny, that it is waste of time to seek for any other cause. It was occasioned, it seems, by the feelings of the Natives having been

\* 4th. "The Government of India should be directed to consider, in a calm and unobtrusive spirit, the best mode of rendering education really popular, to regulate it with no attempt at proselytism, open or disguised, and to rely that our greatest strength consists in regarding with feelings of charity and patience the pursuit of religious instruction by all of different persuasions according to their several creeds."

outraged on very tender points regarding their religion and their VEILED DAUGHTERS (*sic!*), and by *the destruction of all Native confidence in the security of property*. I cannot but think that this very singular statement must have found place in Sir George Clerk's memorandum only by some extraordinary mistake or inadvertence; and I make no further comment upon it, partly for this reason, and partly because I am obliged to say, I hope without disrespect to Sir George Clerk, that I really do not understand its meaning.

FRED. JAS. HALLIDAY.

*Dated the 19th November 1858.*